

Coinage of Adana in Cilicia

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[PLATES 17-24]

ADANA, which retained its prehellenistic name,¹ is situated in the middle of the fertile plain of Çukurova (Aleian plain of the Iliad² in Cilicia Campestris on both sides of the river Seyhan (Sarus) and at about half-way between Tarsus and Anazarbus.

The foundation and history of Adana are obscure;³ because of its strategic position in the Aleian plain, however, the city must have been closely involved in the major events which took place in Cilicia and Tarsus.

Stephanus of Byzantium says that Adana was founded by Adanos and Saros after their defeat against the Tarsians;⁴ Adanos, who gave his name to the city, was the son of Uranos and Gaia. The legend is outlined on a unique bronze coin (no. 160) with the name and portrait of Adanos.

In classical times Adana seems to have been first mentioned in the fourth century BC by Pseudo-Scylax⁵ who describes the city as a trading centre (*εμποριον*); Xenophon does not mention Adana but only the crossing of the river Psarus at a distance of 10 parasangs (c. 35 km) after leaving Tarsus;⁶ the fact that Adana is not mentioned during the expedition of Cyrus leads one to suppose that it was without importance at that time.⁷

Under the rule of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 BC) Adana seems to have gained some importance, as it minted municipal bronze coins with the king's effigy and an official city name linked to the king: **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΣΑΡΩΙ**; this ethnic has not been otherwise recorded by the historians and proves that it was not familiar in the city; in any case it disappeared with the death of Antiochus.⁸

During the first century BC Adana is mentioned by Appian as being, with Mallus and Epiphaneia, one of three cities of Cilicia Campestris where Pompey resettled captive pirates after his successful campaign in the east Mediterranean in 67 BC against local piracy.⁹

¹ For a short description of Adana, cf. *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, R. Stilwell (ed.), Princeton, NJ 1976 (M. Gough), s.v.

² Il. VI, 201.

³ For earliest references, cf. R. D. Barnett, *JHS* 73, 1953, 140–3; also J. D. Bing, *A History of Cilicia during the Assyrian Period*, (Indiana University, 1969), pp. 63 ff.

⁴ De Urbibus, s.v. Adana.

⁵ Per. 102.

⁶ Anabasis, 1, 4, 1.

⁷ Cousin, *Kyros le jeune en Asie mineure*, (1905), pp. 276–7.

⁸ Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, pp. ci–cii.

⁹ Mith. 96.

Cassius Dio states that during the civil war after Caesar's death, Adana suffered (42 BC) by Tarsus, her 'continuous rival'.¹⁰ This rivalry, attested also in the myth of the city's foundation (Steph. Byz., see above), seems to have lasted into imperial times, for Dio Chrysostom, in his second Tarsian speech (time of Trajan), included Adana in the list of cities hostile to Tarsus.¹¹ Geographers mentioning Adana include Ptolemy¹² and Pliny.¹³ On the whole, the literary evidence is very scarce.

Except for the old bridge built by Hadrian and restored by Justinian (which is still used), no ruins are any longer visible in Adana. The city seems to have greatly benefited by imperial largesse especially under Hadrian; it shared the imperial surnames of the third century with Tarsus and Anazarbus (both metropoleis), Aegeae, and Mopsus; as far as known, it was the only bearing the name of Maximinus. Apart from those of Commodus, Macrinus Maximinus, and Maximus, all other imperial coins of Adana bear the honorific title of ΑΔΡ or ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ; the other titles used are ΚΕΒ or ΚΕΒΗΠΙΑΝΩΝ (Elagabalus and Aquilia Severa),¹⁴ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΙΑΝΩΝ (Macrinus and Diadumenian), ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΙΑΝΩΝ (Elagabalus), ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΥΤΙΟ (λιτων) (Elagabalus and Aquilia Severa), ΜΑΞΙΜΙΑΝΩΝ or ΜΑΞΙΜΕΙΝΙΑΝΩΝ (Maximinus and Maximus).

From the coins we also know that two sacred ecumenical games were celebrated at Adana, the ΙΕΡ(α) ΟΙΚ(ομενικα) (coins of Elagabalus) and ΟΙΚ(ομενικα) ΔΙΟ(νυκια) (coins of Volusian). Other games at Adana are attested by inscriptions: games [ταλανταιαι] without a special name in AD 221¹⁵ and [πολύμπια] at the beginning of the third century;¹⁶ they were probably identical to the games referred on the coins.

Out of 283 coins traced, 160 range from the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes up to imperial times without kings' portraits; they are followed by 123 coins struck under the Roman rule and cover a period stretching from Antoninus Pius to Gallienus, with few exceptions, the most noteworthy being the absence of any coinage of Severus Alexander.

There are no dated coins of Adana and as is usual for the pre-imperial autonomous coinage in Asia Minor, a sound classification for such series is very difficult not to say impossible; although very important, the style is not always a sound criterion for a correct chronology; it has therefore been thought advisable to follow as far as possible a sequence which, while far from conclusive, gives an interesting picture of such coinage of Adana with its great variety of monograms and magisterial names.

¹⁰ XLVII, 31, 2.

¹¹ or. 34, 14, 47.

¹² V, 8, 7 and VIII, 17, 46.

¹³ V, 92.

¹⁴ In discussing Caracalla, *Itinerary in Asia Minor* (coll. Latomus (Bruxelles, 1969), vol. 102, 435 n. 63), B. Levick refers to a coin of Domna published by Mionnet III, 562, 128 for Adana; this coin is of Aquilia Severa as also corrected by Mionnet s. VII, 192, 182 (here no. 207).

¹⁵ Cagnat, IGR III 1012 = L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* (1953), n. 85.

¹⁶ Moretti, n. 81.

175–164 BC (*nos. 1–7*)

The known coinage of Adana starts under the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Two denominations are recorded; the first, which is very rare, bears the portrait of the king/Zeus (*nos. 1–2*). The second has Demeter/horse (*nos. 3–7*). These are the only issues with the honorific title **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ** instead of **ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ**. Four specimens of the second issue are counter-marked with an anchor. According to D. H. Cox¹⁷ this might be a revalidation under the rule of Alexander Bala (150–145 BC)

2ND CENTURY BC—IMPERIAL TIMES (*nos. 8–160*)

Two issues with fine hellenistic portraits might have followed the above coinage; the first representing Demeter/Zeus (*nos. 8–14*) and the second, Apollo/Zeus (*nos. 15–24*); on account of the style, two smaller denominations with Demeter/Zeus (*nos. 26–53*) and Demeter/horse (*nos. 59–100*) seem to have been used concurrently with these two issues. Smaller denominations with City/eagle (*nos. 54–6*) and City/humped bull (*nos. 57–8*) are directly linked to the group (*26–53*) by the use of the same monograms. Then we have an important issue, mainly with magistrates names or abbreviations which might be divided in three denominations, the first being a unique coin with Dionysos/goddess (*no. 101*), then Athena/Nike (*nos. 102–15*), and finally Zeus/Hermes (*nos. 116–35*) and City/horse (*nos. 136–52*). For the magistrates' names or abbreviations and monograms, the above classification gives the picture summarized in Fig. 1. The last three issues, represented by one coin each (*nos. 157–60*) might be also given to the imperial times on account of their late style; the most remarkable type is the representation of the hero Adanos, founder of the city (*n. 160*).

IMPERIAL TIMES (*nos. 161–283*)

The first eight coins without imperial portraits (*nos. 161–8*) are evidently from the time of Hadrian or later on account of their honorific title **ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ**. They are followed by 115 coins with imperial portraits from Pius to Gallienus; the Oxford coin of M. Aurelius with bust of Serapis (*NC 1940, 238, 6*) given to Adana belongs to Adada in Pisidia;¹⁸ coin no. 3811 of Septimius Severus in Hirsch XXI (Weber coll.) belongs to Amasia Ponti.

Although not traced in Milan, the only published coin of Paulina for Adana¹⁹ is also included in this corpus as it is likely that Adana struck coins for that empress like neighbouring Anazarbus.²⁰

Considering that neighbouring cities of Adana such as Anazarbus, Aegeae, and Tarsus issued extensive coinage for Severus Alexander, it is worth noting the absence of any coinage for that emperor at Adana; the only coin of Severus

¹⁷ *NNM* 92,14,65.

¹⁹ Mionnet S. VII, 193, 183.

¹⁸ Cf. v. Aulock, *Münzen und Städte Pisidiens*, vol. 1, 55 nn. 55–9.

²⁰ Sternberg sale XI (1981), 350.

FIG. 1

Alexander given to Adana was published by Sabatier²¹ with the legend ΣΕΒ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ; this coin was misread and belongs to Aegeae; it was rightly corrected to ΣΕΒ ΑΔΡ ΑΙΓΑΙΩΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥΝΤΙΟ ZOC by Babelon after the coin entered the Waddington collection (no. 4082).²²

Thirty-three coins (30 per cent of the whole imperial coinage with imperial portraits) belong to a single issue of Valerian/Zeus (nos. 248–80) where two obverse dies were used with ten reverses; some are probably reworked dies as they present—as is usual in Asia Minor—remarkable similarities; the large output of this issue may be explained by the visit of Valerian to Cilicia in 254/5 AD and to the economic situation the area must have enjoyed at that time with the heavy spending of the Roman army fighting in the East not far from Cilicia.²³ Another type for Valerian/standing female described by Mionnet²⁴ has not been traced.

²⁵ No value marks or dates occur in Adana; the two dates given by Mionnet

²¹ *RBN* 1860, 17, 8; pl. IV.8.

²² No. 2104 of Mabbott sale for Severus Alexander belongs to Amasia ponti.

²³ Cf. M. Gough, 'Augusta Ciliciae', *AS* 6 (1956), 176.

Dr. M. Coaghs,

24 S. VII, 194, 189.

²⁵ Cf. I. B., Kl. M. 423.

are misread; the Commodus coin of Paris (no. 174) is very worn and hardly readable; the mark in the field right on the reverse looks like a **P** over **A** or **ΑΔΡ** in monogram but not the date **AIC**;²⁶ moreover, a thorough checking of the thirty-three available reverses for the Valerian/Zeus issue confirms the non-existence of the date **OC**.²⁷

As countermarks, we may note a radiate head, anchor, Nike, Zeus, youthful male head, crescent,²⁸ round blank punch-mark, and a leaf-type symbol.

Besides the head of Adanos (no. 160), the most remarkable types are Herakles with lion's skin headdress falling down to his knees (nos. 202–4), head of City-goddess within Zodiac signs (nos. 215–16), Aphrodite with two Erotes (no. 223), and Dionysos with satyr seated on wineskin (nos. 239–44). Other types represented are Zeus, Demeter, Athena, Hermes, City-goddess, Artemis, Sarapis, the river-god Sarus, and Apollo.

CATALOGUE

All coins are in bronze. The portraits are to the right unless otherwise specified. The specimens illustrated are marked by an asterisk.

Abbreviations:

Kl.M. = F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, vol. 2, Vienna, 1902.

M.Gr. = F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, 1883.

Wadd. = E. Babelon, *Inventaire sommaire de la collection Waddington*, Paris, 1897.

TIME OF ANTIOCHUS IV EPIPHANES (175–164 BC)

Obv. Antiochus IV., radiate. *Rev.* Zeus seated l., in r. Nike, r. resting on sceptre; **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΣΑΡΩΙ**.

*1. 8, 35. Paris = Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, 77, 601. 2. ? . NNM 92, 14, 65; obv. cm. anchor.
Same obverse die.

Obv. Demeter, veiled. *Rev.* Horse advancing l.; **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΣΑΡΩΙ**.

*3. 3, 09. Paris. 4. 4, 14. Fogg Museum. *5. 4, 16. Vienna (Prowe). *6. 4, 05. BM (Lawson 1903).
7. 5, 40. SNG Fitzw. 5221.
Reverses 4–7 have an anchor in cm. Same obverse die 3–5.

IMPERIAL TIMES (c.164 BC)

Obv. Demeter, veiled; behind, eagle. *Rev.* Zeus seated l., in r. Nike, l. resting on sceptre; **ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ**; monograms 1–3 (see text fig.).

*8. 11, 68. Berlin = *Kl. M.* 422, 1. *9. 13, 99. Levante = Sternberg Sale 11 (1981), 171. 10. 10, 75.
BMC 1. *11. 13, 88. Levante. 12. 11, 25. Cancio. 13. 11, 66. SNG v. Aulock 5434. *14. 10, 50.
Berlin (monograms erased).

Obverses 10–12 have a radiate head in cm. Same obverse 8–13, same reverse 8–10.

²⁶ S. VII, 192, 180.

²⁷ S. VII, 194, 188.

²⁸ Cf. same cm. on a coin of Maximinus from Iotape (SNG V: Aulock 8682).

Obv. Apollo, hair in long curls. *Rev.* Zeus seated l., in r. Nike, l. resting on sceptre; ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ; monograms 4–5.

*15. 10, 77. Levante. 16. 10, 21. Levante. 17. 9, 50. Copenhagen. 18. 11, 29. Munich. 19. 8, 78. Paris. 20. 9, 11. *BMC* 5. 21. 9, 42. *SNG v. Aulock* 5433. *22. 12, 68. Berlin (obv. four cuts on edge). 23. 11, 14. Paris = *Wadd.* 4041. 24. 9, 70. *BMC* 6.

Same obverse; same reverse for 15–20 and 21–22.

Obv. Helios (?), radiate. *Rev.* Zeus seated l., in r. Nike, l. resting on sceptre; ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*25. 7, 95. Paris = *Wadd.* 4040.

Obv. Demeter, with stephane and veil. *Rev.* Zeus seated l., in r. Nike, l. resting on sceptre; ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ; monograms and or letters.

Monogram 6

*26. 8, 71. Levante. 27. 7, 05. Paris = *Wadd.* 4043. 28. 4, 88. *SNG (Cop.)* 22. 29. ?. Winterthur 4518. 30. 8, 84. *BMC* 4. (obv. described as Artemis with bow).

Same obverse 26–9; same reverse 26–8.

Monogram 7

*31. 7, 89. Munich. 32. 7, 27. Paris.

Same obverse.

Monogram 8

*33. 6, 11. Levante. 34. 6, 15. Berlin. 35. 6, 55. Paris.

Same obverse; same reverse 33–4.

Monogram 9

36. 8, 07. Paris = Mionnet S. VII, 191, 173.

Same obverse as 33–4.

Monogram 10 (or ΔΙ . . .)

*37. 7, 31. BM (obv. cm eagle). 38. 8, 09. Paris = *Wadd.* 4042. 39. 5, 29. ANS 40. 8, 53.

Brussels. 41. 5, 59. *BMC* 3. 42. ?. Winterthur 4519. 43. ?. *NNM* 92, 14, 66.

Same dies.

Monogram 11

*44. 6, 21. Munich (in deposit). 45. 5, 97. Oxford = *NC* 1940, 238, 1. 46. 6, 67. Levante. 47. 6, 25. Bennett.

Same obverse.

Monogram 12

*48. 6, 87. Levante. 49. 7, 34. Paris = *Wadd.* 4044.

Same obverse.

Monogram 13

*50. 8, 52. Berlin.

Monogram 14

51. 7, 01. Munich (in deposit). 52. 5, 23. *BMC* 2.

Same obverse.

Monogram 15

53. 3, 37. Berlin.

Obv. City-goddess, turreted. *Rev.* Eagle stg. l. on ear of corn; ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ; monograms or letters.

*Monogram 16

54. 4, 24. *BMC* 8 = *NC* 1895, 194, 8.

Monogram 17

55. 4, 70. Paris = *Wadd.* 4047.

Monogram 18

56. 3, 91. Berlin = *KI.M.* 422, 2.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Humped bull l.; ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ; monograms. Monogram: T? (or Σ?) *57. 2, 09. ANS.

Monogram 19–20
58. 2, 36. SNG v. Aulock 55437.

Obv. Demeter with stephane and veil. *Rev.* Horse advancing l.; ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ; monograms and/or letters.

Monogram 21
59. 4, 28. ANS. *60. 3, 66. Levante. 61. 3, 85. Berlin. 62. 5, 05. Boston (ex Woodward). 63. 3, 07. Vienna (Prowe). 64. ?. Glasgow. 65. 4, 05. ANS.
Same obverse 60–4; same reverse 59–61.

Monogram 22
66. ?. Cambridge 9042. *67. 4, 00. Paris = *Wadd.* 4045. 68. 4, 28. Paris. 69. 3, 97. *BMC* 12.
Same obverse 67–9; obverse 66 same as 60–4.
Same reverse.

Monogram 23
*70. 4, 10. Berlin. 71. 3, 47. Levante. 72. 3, 50. ANS. 73. 3, 32. Righetti.
Same obverse; same reverse 71–2.

Monogram 24 to left, obscure to right
*74. 4, 83. Levante (rev. cm anchor).

Monogram 25
*75. 3, 64. Oxford = *NC* 1940, 238, 2.

Monogram 26
76. 4, 27. Berlin. 77. 4, 08. Paris. 78. 3, 87. Vienna. *79. 3, 59. Berlin. 80. 3, 97. Levante. 81. 4, 04. Bennett. 82. ?. Oxford. 83. 4, 77. SNG (*Fitzw.*) 5219.
Same obverse; same reverse 76–8 and 79–81.

Monogram 27 to right, obscure to left
84. 3, 14. Oxford = *NC* 1940, 238, 3.

Monogram 28
*85. 3, 68. Vienna (Prowe). 86. 4, 41. SNG v. Aulock 5435. 87. 3, 31. ANS. 88. 3, 47. ANS. 89. 4, 25. Berlin 90. 3, 47. SNG (*Cop.*) 21. 91. 4, 30. Levante.
On obverse: Φ. Same obverse; same reverse 85–90.

Monogram [JA]
92. 3, 30. SNG (*Fitzw.*) 5220.

Monogram [JΓ]
*93. 4, 21. Levante.

Monogram 29
*94. 3, 68. Levante.

Monogram 30
95. 4, 55. SNG v. Aulock 5436. 96. 4, 76. Copenhagen. 97. 3, 17. Munich. 98. 4, 55. Bennett.
Same obverse 97–8; same reverse 95–7.
99. 5, 22. Fogg Museum. 100. 3, 48. Fogg Museum.
Same obverse.

NB. Bosch describes a similar type with monogram Δ~Υ. No trace.

Obv. Dionysos, thyrsos over shoulder; ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ. *Rev.* Goddess (Demeter ?) seated l., in r. wreath (?), in l. lighted torch over shoulder; letters, Fig. 1, 31.

*ΜΟΥ 101. 15, 70. Vienna.

Obv. Athena. *Rev.* Nike advancing l., in r. wreath, in l. palm-branch; ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ; monograms and/or letters.

Monogram 32
*102. 8, 44. Levante. 103. 9, 44. Levante. *104. 9, 61. Levante. *105. 9, 06. Berlin = *M.Gr.* 348, 4.

106. 10, 06. Paris. 107. 8, 99. *BMC* 7. *108. 9, 81. Berlin (rev. ΛVCA only). Both Ε and Ε forms are clear. Same obverse 102–4 and 105–8; same reverse 105–6.

Monogram 33

*109. 9, 46. ANS.

Same obverse as 102–3.

Monogram 34

110. 9, 00. Berlin = *M.Gr.* 348, 5. 111. 9, 84. *SNG v. Aulock* 5432. 112. ?. *NNM* 92, 15, 67. Same dies.

Monogram: ΗΡΟΔ (?)

113. 10, 12. *SNG (Cop.)* 17.

Monogram 35

*114. 9, 25. Berlin = *ZfN* 12 (1885), 330.

Monogram 36

*115. 10, 10. Paris = *Wadd.* 4048 (rev. Nike advancing r.).

Obv. Zeus. *Rev.* Hermes, nude, stg. l., in r. long object or purse, in l. caduceus; ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ; monograms and/or letters.

Monogram 37

*116. 5, 64. ANS. 117. 3, 43. *BMC* 11. In r. long object. Obverse 116 same as 118–19.

Monogram 38

*118. 4, 11. Levante. 119. 2, 64. Fogg. Museum. In r. long object. Same obverse as 116.

Monogram 39

*120. 6, 49. Paris. 121. 6, 81. *SNG v. Aulock* 5431. 122. 5, 65. Paris = *Wadd.* 4038. In r. long object. Obverse 122 same as 117; same reverse 120–1.

Monogram 40

*123. 3, 50. Vienna (Prowe). 124. 3, 93. *BMC* 10. 125. 5, 15. *SNG (Cop.)* 20. In r. purse. Same obverse.

Monogram 41

*126. ?. Oxford. 127. 3, 96. Berlin = *M.Gr.* 348, 2. 128. 3, 45. Paris = *Wadd.* 4039 (misread as ΔΙΟ EVMH). 129. 3, 92. Berlin. 130. 3, 80. Munich. In r. purse. Same obverse 126–8; same reverse 127–8.

Monogram 42

*131. 6, 70. Levante. 132. 6, 46. Oxford = *NC* 1940, 238, 4. In r. long object. Same dies.

Monogram 43

*133. 9, 29. Levante. In r. long object.

Monogram 44

*134. 4, 68. Vienna. In r. long object.

No monogram?

*135. 6, 25. ANS. In r. purse.

Obv. City-goddess, turreted and veiled. *Rev.* Horse advancing l., ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ; monograms and/or letters.

Monogram 45

*136. 5, 79. Vienna. 137. 4, 99. Paris. 138. 4, 59. *SNG (Cop.)* 19. Both Ε and Ε forms are clear. Same dies.

Monogram 46

*139. 5, 01. Berlin = *M.Gr.* 348, 1. 140. 5, 97. *SNG (Cop.)* 18. 141. 3, 66. *BMC* 9. 142. 3, 17. ANS. 143. 3, 74. Fogg Museum. Same obverse 139–40 and 141–3; same reverse 139–40 and 142–3.

Monogram 47

*144. 5, 97. Berlin. Same obverse with 139–40.

Monogram 48

145. 5, 40. Paris = *Wadd.* 4046. *146. 5, 52. ANS. 147. 4, 63. Levante. 148. 5, 00. Vienna (Prowe). On reverse 148 in graffito: A. Same obverse 145–7; same reverse 147–8.

Monogram 49

*149. 5, 40. Levante (on reverse in graffito: A). 150. 4, 74. Paris = *Wadd.* 7162. Same dies.

Monogram 50

*151. 5, 13. Milan (cf. Mionnet S. VII. 191, 177).

Monogram 51

*152. 5, 92. Levante. Same obverse as 151.

Obv. Artemis, quiver over shoulder; ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ. *Rev.* Artemis, wearing short chiton, stg., in r. arrow, in L; bow; at her feet, ?; ΟΒΑΛΕΡΙ ΣΙΝΙΠΙΑΤΟV. (Monogram 52).

*153. 2, 83. ANS. 154. 2, 02. Berlin = *SNR* 14 (1908), 201, 1. 155. 2, 57. Berlin = *ZgM.* 201, 1. 156. 2, 88. Fogg. Museum. Same dies.

NB. Bosch describes a similar coin with Γ.Ι. ΣΙΝΙΠΙΑΤΟV Σ YO. No trace.

Obv. Serapis. *Rev.* Upper part of River-god Sarus swimming r.; ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*157. 3, 45. Paris.

Obv. Apollo, in front, laurel-branch; ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ. *Rev.* Artemis, wearing short chiton, stg. r., r. drawing arrow from quiver over shoulder, in l. bow; at her feet, stag.

*158. 3, 75. Levante. 159. 5, 82. *SNG (Cop.)* 23. Same dies.

Obv. Head of Hero Adanos r.; ΑΔΑΝΟC. *Rev.* Bust of City-goddess r., turreted and veiled; ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*160. 3, 03. Levante.

IMPERIAL TIMES

a. *Without Imperial portraits*

TIME OF HADRIAN OR LATER

Obv. Zeus. *Rev.* Upper part of River-god Sarus on basis, swimming r.; ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*161. 4, 35. BMC 13.

Obv. Zeus. *Rev.* Bust of Athena r. with Macedonian helmet and aegis; ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*162. 4, 71. Levante. 163. 5, 08. Berlin. 164. 4, 18. Paris. Same reverse.

Obv. Zeus. *Rev.* Eagle; ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*165. 2, 41. BMC 14. 166. 2, 50. Berlin. 167. 2, 19. Paris. 168. 1, 76. Paris. Same obverse; same reverse 165–6.

b. *With Imperial portraits*

ANTONINUS PIUS (138–61)

Obv. Pius, laureate; ..ANT.. *Rev.* Zeus seated l.; ΑΔΡΙΑΝ[ΩΝΑΔ]ΑΝ[ΕΩΝ].

169. ?. Cox, Excavations at Gözlu Kale, I, 76, 260. No cast.

Obv. Pius, laureate; AVT KAI T AIA ΑΔΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC ΚΕΒ ΕV III. *Rev.* Bust of City-goddess r., turreted and veiled; ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

170. 7, 07. Paris = *Wadd.* 4050.

M. AURELIUS (161–80)

Obv. M. Aurelius l., bare-headed; **AVT KAI M AVPHAI OVIPOC CEB.** *Rev.* M. Aurelius and L. Verus stg. confronted, grasping r. hands; in Verus' hand, roll; **ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.**

*171. 13, 87. Righetti. 172. 13, 17. Oxford = *NC* 1940, 238, 5. 173. ?. Münzen und Medaillen, Basel (383), 235. Same dies for 171–2. No cast for 173.

COMMODUS (177–92)

Obv. Commodus, laureate; **AVT K KOMOΔOC.** *Rev.* Athena stg. r., in r. spear, l. resting on shield; **ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ;** at r. **P** or **ΑΔP** in monogram ?.

*174. 15, 08. Paris. **A**

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (193–211)

Obv. S. Severus, laureate; **AVT.KAI.Λ.ΣΕΠΤ CΕVHPOC ΠΕ CΕ.** *Rev.* Bust of Demeter r., veiled; **ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.**

*175. 15, 73. Paris = *Wadd.* 4052.

Obv. S. Severus, laureate; **AVT·KAI·Λ·ΣΕΠΤ CΕVHPOC ΠΕΡΠΠ.** *Rev.* Zeus seated l., in r. Nike, l. resting on sceptre; at his feet, eagle; **ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.**

*176. 25, 81. Paris = *Wadd.* 4051.

JULIA DOMNA (Wife of S. Severus)

Obv. Domna; **ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ CΕBACTHN.** *Rev.* Dionysos stg., in r. kantharos over panther, l. resting on thyrsos; **ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.**

*177. 22, 14. Berlin. 178. 19, 37. *BMC* 15 (*obv.* cm Nike). *179. 21, 22. Levante (*obv.* **CΕBACTH** and *cm* Nike). Same dies 177–8.

CARACALLA (198–217)

Obv. Caracalla, laureate; **AVT·KAIC·M·AVP ANTΩΝΕΙΝΟC...** *Rev.* Bust of Demeter r., veiled; **ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.**

*180. 12, 26. *SNG v. Aulock* 5438.

Obv. Caracalla(?), laureate; **ΚΑΙCΑP...** *Rev.* Head of goddess r., with stephane; **ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.**

181. 9, 05. Cambridge 9044. Attribution to Caracalla not certain.

CARACALLA and DOMNA

Obv. Caracalla, radiate; **AVT·KAIC·M·AVP ANTΩΝΕΙΝΟC CEB.**

Rev. Domna; **ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝ ΔΟΜΝΑΝ CΕB ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.**

*182. 23, 43. *ANS* 183. 29, 70. Paris = *Wadd.* 4053. 184. 21, 62. Fontana = *RIN* 15 (1967), 57, 20.

*185. 26, 66. Berlin. Same obverse; same reverse 182–3.

PLAUTILLA (Wife of Caracalla)

Obv. Plautilla; at r. crescent; at l. star; **ΦΟΝΛΟVΙΑΝ ΠΛΑVTΙΛΛΑΝ CΕBACTHN;** *cm.* Nike. *Rev.* Caracalla and Plautilla stg. confronted, grasping r. hands; **ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.**

*186. 31, 17. *ANS.* 187. 30, 97. Paris. 188. 33, 70. *BMC* 16. 189. ?. Waage, *Antioch on the Orontes* vol. 4, 77, 816. Same dies 186–8. No cast for 189.

Obv. Same die and cmk. *Rev.* Caracalla, crowned by Nike, stg. in quadriga galloping r., in l. sceptre surmounted by eagle; ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔ[ΑΝΕΩΝ].

*190. 24, 20. BM (Marcopoli 1919).

Obv. Similar, with same cmk. *Rev.* Caracalla galloping r., in r. spear striking at lion; ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*191. 37, 60. Levante = Waddell sale I (1982), 472.

Obv. Same die and cmk. *Rev.* Caracalla, crowned by Nike l., stg. in quadriga galloping to front, r. raised, in l. sceptre; ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*192. 39, 96. SNG. (Cop.) 24.

GETA AS CAESAR (198–209)

Obv. Geta, bare-headed; Λ ΣΕΠΤΙΜΙΟC ΓΕΤΑC ΚΑΙCΑP. *Rev.* Nike on basis, advancing l., in r. wreath, in l. palm-branch; ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*193. 14, 89. Paris = Wadd. 4054.

MACRINUS (217–18)

Obv. Macrinus, laureate; AV ΜΑΡ ΟΠΕΛ ΜΑΚΡΙΝΟC ΣΕ. *Rev.* City-goddess seated l. on rocks, in r. ear of corn; at her feet, River-god Sarus swimming l.; ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*194. 17, 26. Paris. Both ω and Ω forms are clear.

DIADUMENIAN AS CAESAR (217–18)

Obv. Diadumenian l., bare-headed; Μ ΟΠΕ ΔΙΑΔΟVΜΕΝΙΑΝΟC ΑΝΤΩΝΙ. *Rev.* Emperor(?) stg. l., himation over shoulder and lower part of body, in r. branch held downwards over vase; ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*195. 21, 26. Vienna = RSN 19 (1913), 93, 265.

Obv. Same die. *Rev.* City-goddess seated l. on rocks, in r. ear of corn; at her feet, River-god Sarus swimming l.; ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

196. 17, 96. SNG v. Aulock 8659 (misread as ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ). 197. 16, 67. SNG (Cop.) 25. 198. 15, 96. Berlin. Same dies. Both ω and Ω forms are clear.

Obv. Diadumenian l., bare-headed; Μ ΟΠΙΑΛΙΟC ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC ΣΕB. *Rev.* Nike advancing l., in r. wreath, in l. palm-branch; ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*199. 18, 86. Berlin.

ELAGABALUS (218–21)

Obv. Elagabalus (or Caracalla ?), laureate; ...AV ΑΝΤΩΝ... ΕB; cm 1) Nike, 2) Nike?, 3) youthful head, 4) head of Zeus. *Rev.* Athena stg. l., in r. Nike, l. resting on shield; ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕ[ΩΝ]; cm Nike.

*200. 27, 88. BM (Baldwin 1971).

Obv. Elagabalus, laureate; AVT KAI M AVP ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC ΣΕB. *Rev.* Prize-crown with palm-branch and inscribed ΙΕΡ ΟΙΚ; around, ΑΔΡ ΣΕV ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟV. ΠΟ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝI.

*201. 12, 94. BMC 17.

Obv. Similar. *Rev.* Herakles, nude, stg. l., lion's skin over head and falling up to ankles, r. resting on club, l. on waist; ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΡ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*202. 22, 59. Levante. 203. 20, 51. Boston = *Hesperia Art* 25, 149. *204. 25, 80. Paris. Same obverse; same reverse for 203–4.

Obv. Elagabalus l., laureate; AVT KAI·M·AVP ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC CEB. *Rev.* Zeus seated l., in r. phiale, l. resting on sceptre; . . . ΑΝΤΩΝCΙΝΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝ . . .

*205. 13, 58. Paris. Both ω and Ω forms are clear.

AQUILIA SEVERA (Fourth wife of Elagabalus)

Obv. Aquilia Severa in stephane; IOVΛΙ ΑΚΒΙΛΙΑΝ CΕΟVHPAN C. *Rev.* Prize-crown with palm branch and inscribed IEP OIK; around, ΑΔΡ CEV. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟVΠΟ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*206. 12, 16. Paris. 207. ? Wiczay, *Musei Hedervari* vol. 1, 236, 5311 = Mionnet III, 562, 128 (mistaken as Domna) and S. VII, 192, 182 (corrected as S. Aquilia). No cast.

MAXIMINUS (235–8)

Obv. Maximinus, laureate; AVT·K·ΓΙΟVΗΜΑΞΙΜΕΙΝΟC CEBAC. *Rev.* City-goddess seated l. on rocks within distyle temple with arched roof; in r. ear of corn; at her feet, River-god Sarus swimming l.; ΜΑΞΙΜΕΙΝΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*208. 13, 63. Vienna (obv. OVHP). 209. 16, 17. Paris. 210. 17, 62. BM. 211. 15, 29. ANS. Both ω and Ω forms are clear. Same obverse 209–10; same reverse 208–9 and 210–11.

PAULINA (Wife of Maximinus)

Obv. Paulina; ΠΑVΛΕI . . . C. *Rev.* Head of goddess r., veiles; (Demeter ?); . . . ΑΔΡ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

212. ?. Mionnet S. VII, 193, 183. No cast.

MAXIMUS as CAESAR (235–8)

Obv. Maximus, bare-headed; Γ IOV OVH ΜΑΞΙΜΟC KAICAP. *Rev.* Dionysos, wearing long chiton, stg. l., in r. kantharos over panther, in l. thyrsos and resting on small column; ΜΑΞΙΜΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*213. 16, 89. BMC 18. 214. 13, 68. Paris. Both ω and Ω forms are clear. Same dies.

GORDIAN III (238–44)

Obv. Gordian, laureate; AVT·KAIC·M ΑΝΤ·ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC CEB. *Rev.* Bust of City-goddess r., turreted and veiled, within Zodiac signs; ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*215. 11, 10. Vienna. *216. 13, 09. Paris.

GORDIAN III and TRANQUILLINA (his wife)

Obv. Gordian, radiate; AVT K M ΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC CEB. *Rev.* Bust of Tranquillina in stephane; CABEIN TPANKVΛΛΕΙΝΑΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*217. 11, 91. BMC 19. 218. 14, 30. Boston. 219. 14, 32. Vienna. 220. ?: Cox, *Excavations at Gözlu Kule I*, 76, 261, pl. 92. *221. 14, 79. Righetti. 222. 13, 75. Munich. Same obverse; same reverse 217–18 and 219–20.

TRANQUILLINA (Wife of Gordian III)

Obv. Tranquillina in stephane; CABEIN TPANKVΛΛΕΙΝΑΝ CEB. *Rev.* Aphrodite, wearing long chiton, stg. to front, l. over Eros stg. on cippus; at l. Eros flying towards her; ΑΔΡΙΑΝ[ΝΩΝ Α]ΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*223. 7, 23. Paris = Mionnet S. VII, 193, 185 (flying Eros described as cornucopia).

PHILIP II AS CAESAR (244–7)

Obv. Philip II, bare-headed; Μ IOV ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΝ ΚΑΙCAP. *Rev.* Nike stg. r. on globe, in r. wreath; ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ; within valex-wreath.

*224. 13, 75. BM (Haller 75). 225. 10, 61. Levante Same dies.

PHILIP II (247–9)

Obv. Philip II, radiate; ΑV K M IOV ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΝ ΕV ΣΕΒ ΠΠ. *Rev.* Zeus seated l., in r. phiale, l. resting on sceptre; at his feet, eagle; ΑΔΡΙΑΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*226. 27, 27. Paris = Wadd. 4055. 227. 17, 25. Berlin 228. ?. Glasgow (525, 2). Same dies.

Obv. Same die. *Rev.* Hermes stg. l., in r. phiale, in l. caduceus; ΑΔΡΙΑΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*229. 18, 56. Paris = Mionnet S. VII, 194, 186.

TRAJAN DECIUS (249–51)

Obv. Decius, laureate; ΑVT ΚΑΙ KVIN ΔΕΚΙΟΝ ΤΡΑΙΑΙΝΟΝ ΣΕΒ. *Rev.* Zeus seated l., in r. phiale, l. resting on sceptre; at his feet, eagle; ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*230. 22, 62. *SNG (Cop.)* 26. 231. 20, 33. Vienna. 232. 17, 49. Paris = Wadd. 4056. 233. 14, 56. Munich. 234. 15, 71. Cancio. 235. 18, 87. Münz Zentrum sale XLVII (1982), 176. *236. 20, 23. BM. 237. 18, 97. Berlin. Same dies for 230–5. No. 237 is too worn for comparison.

ETRUSCILLA (Wife of Trajan Decius)

Obv. Etruscilla in stephane; ΕΡ ΚΥΤΡ ΕΤΡΟΥΚΙΛΛΑΝ . . . *Rev.* Dionysos, nude, stg. l., in r. kantharos over panther, l. resting on thyrsos; ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*238. 14, 86. Paris = Wadd. 4057.

TREBONIANUS GALLUS (251–3)

Obv. Gallus, radiate; ΑVT Κ Γ ΟΒΙΒ ΤΡΙΒΩΝ ΓΑΛΛΟΣ ΣΕΒ. *Rev.* Dionysos seated l., l. resting on thyrsos, r. extended over nude satyr seated l. on wineskin and placing his r. over own head; ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*239. 16, 34. Berlin. 240. 17, 92. BM 241. 18, 03. Levante. 242. 15, 28. Righetti. *243. 15, 62. Paris = Mionnet III, 564, 136. 244. 19, 75. *NC* 1968, 33, 20. Same obverse; same reverse 240–2 and 243–4.

VOLUSIAN (251–3)

Obv. Volusian, radiate; ΑVT Κ ΤΡΑΦ ΓΑΛΛΟΣ ΟΒΟΛΟΝΟΛΟCCΙΑΝΟC (*sic*). *Rev.* Hermes, wearing short chiton and petasos, stg. l., in r. palm branch held downwards, in l. winged caduceus; at l. prize-crown with palm branch over table; ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΟΙΚ·ΔΙΟ.

*245. 12, 49. *BMC* 20. 246. 12, 87. Paris = Wadd. 4058. 247. 11, 58. Dusseldorf University. Same dies.

VALERIAN (253–60)

Obv. Valerian, laureate. *Rev.* Zeus seated l., in r. phiale, l. resting on sceptre.

Obv. A: ΑV ΚΑΙ ΠΟV ΛΙK ΟVΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟC ΣB (*sic*). *Rev.* ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ.

*248. 15, 75. BM = *SNG v. Aulock* 5439. 249. 14, 67. Oxford. 250. 12, 10. Berlin. 251. 12, 28. Paris. 252. 14, 88. Munich (obv. cm round punch mark and leaf; rev. cm crescent). *253. 13, 60. Righetti (obv. cm as 252). 254. ?. Cambridge. *255. 14, 44. Munich. 256. 13, 84. *BMC* 21. 257. 18, 66. Munich. 258. 12, 60. Vienna.

ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ

259. 12, 90. Oxford. *260. 13, 85. Oxford.

ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝΑΔ ΑΝΕΩΝ

*261. 15, 49. Righetti. (obv. cm as 252). 262. 13, 64. Paris. 263. 11, 10. Vienna (obv. heavily reworked).

Obv. B: ΑΒ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΥ ΛΙΚ ΟΝΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟC ΣΕB. Rev. ΑΔΡΙ ΑΝΩΝ Α ΔΑΝΕΩΝ

*264. 10, 88. Righetti. 265. 14, 85. Vienna. 266. 15, 91. Berlin. 267. 15, 75. Bennett. *268. 13, 98. ANS. 269. 15, 61. SNG (*Cop.*) 27. 270. 12, 44. Vienna (obv. cm as 252).

ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ Α ΔΑΝΕΩΝ

271. 14, 30. Boston. 272. 18, 03. Levante 273. 12, 66. Cancio. 274. 8, 22. *BMC* 22.

ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ Α ΔΑΝΕΩΝ

275. ?. Glasgow (Hunterian 525, 3).

ΑΔΡΙ ΑΝΩΝΑ ΔΑΝΕΩΝ

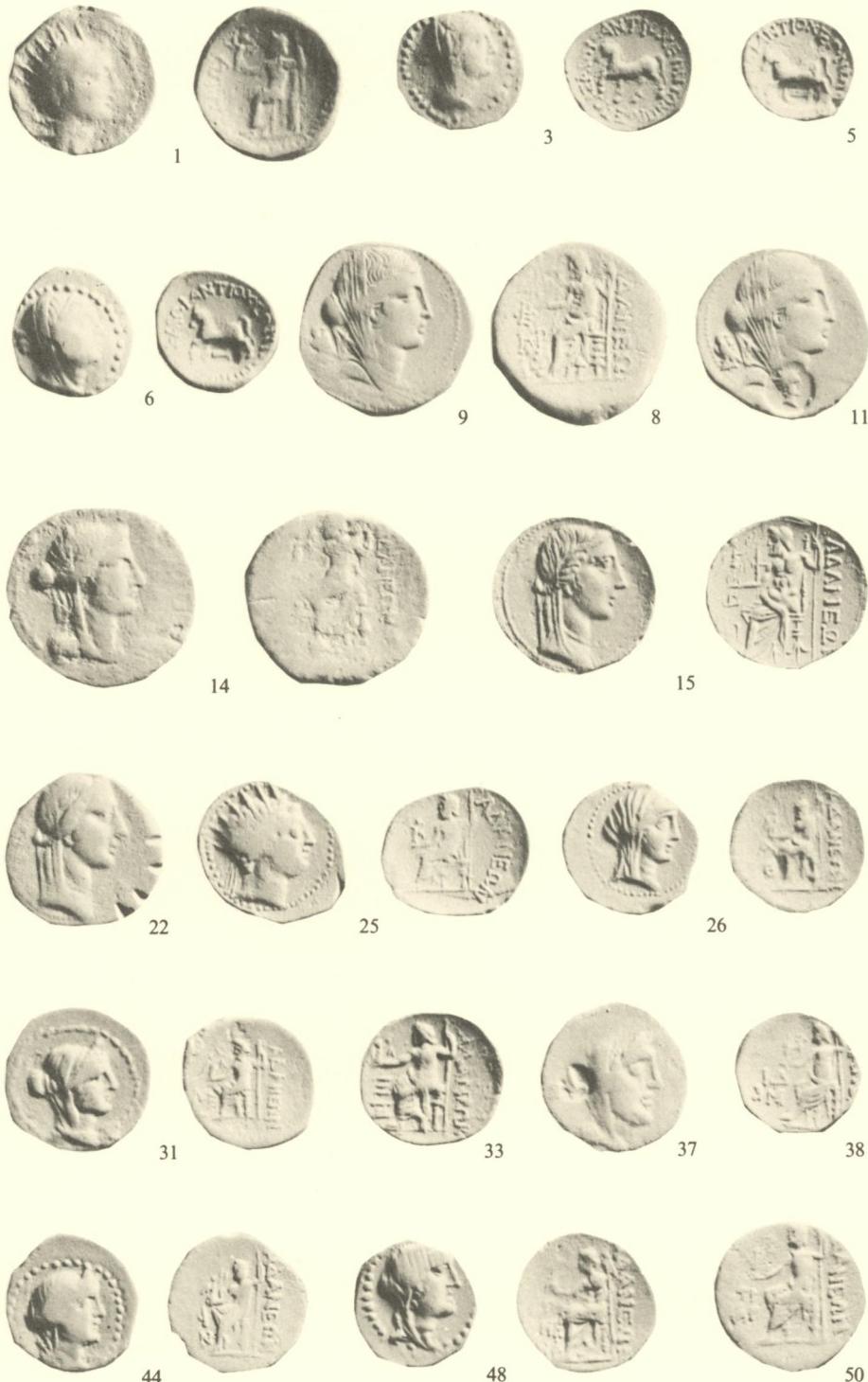
276. 13, 20. *BMC* 24. 277. 13, 91. Paris. 278. ?. Cambridge. *279. 15, 73. Oxford. 280. 15, 07. *BMC* 23. Same obverse 248–63 and 264–80; same reverse 248–54, 255–6, 257–8, 259–60, 261–3, 264–7, 268–70, 271–4, 276–80.

GALLIENUS (253–68)

Obv. Gallienus, radiate; **ΑΒ ΠΟΠ ΛΙΚ ΓΑΛΛΙΗΝΟC ΣΕB.** *Rev.* Goddess veiled (Demeter), seated l., in r. ear of corn, in l. sceptre; **ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ Α ΔΑΝΕΩΝ.**

*281. 10, 59. Levante. 282. 11, 42. *BMC* 25. 283. SNG v. Aulock 8660. Same dies.

PLATE 17



LEVANTE, ADANA (1)

PLATE 18



54



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LEVANTE, ADANA (2)

PLATE 19



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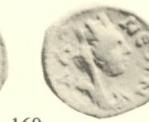
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152



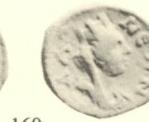
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165

LEVANTE, ADANA (3)

PLATE 20



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175



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182



185

LEVANTE, ADANA (4)

PLATE 21



186



190



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195



193

LEVANTE, ADANA (5)

PLATE 22



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200



201



205



202



204



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208



208



206



210



213

LEVANTE, ADANA (6)

PLATE 23



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217



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236



238



LEVANTE, ADANA (7)

PLATE 24



239



240



243



245



248



253



255



257



260



261



264



268



279



281



LEVANTE, ADANA (8)